3: Leyburn Z-4, 5 (no date) 1966
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Since it was an entrenched interest, however, no responsible statesman had dared to threaten its hold. The Marines swept it out of existence, undertaking to substitute for it a trained constabulary of only 2,000 men who should combine routine military tasks with police duty in the scattered towns. Results were immediately apparent: the weighty incubus of soldiers' wages was lifted from the treasury; thousands of men were deprived of sinecures and put back into productive economic activities; the constant threat of armed revolution was removed; better order was kept by 2,000 trained men in trim uniform than by twelve times that number of ragged loafers who called themselves soldiers; and since the army was no longer the great steppingstone to political office, the élite felt more secure from assault by ambitious but uneducated army men. From 1843 to 1915 the élite had endured many lower-caste presidents because these were able to control the army; now the army had disappeared.

The Marines did much that was of indisputable benefit to Haiti. This was acknowledged even by the most vocal patriots who soon began to campaign for an end of the Occupation. Where there had been no real work in public health, Americans now built hospitals, established clinics, cleaned up the sources of many diseases, laid down sewage systems, gave the towns pure water. In 1915 there were only three automobiles in the country, and no roads for them to travel; the Americans built many miles of paved roads. In 1915 there had been only one wharf, two short stretches of railroad, two lighthouses, one electric plant; the Americans undertook electrification, telephone systems, the construction of administration buildings, and other public conveniences. Whether in such visible matters or in the obscurer realms of currency, banking, and budgets hardly a phase of daily life was left untouched. And judged by the standards of civilization the Marines improved what they touched.

But rancor against the Americans began early and continued to the bitter end in 1934. The pride of all Haitians was deeply wounded by the Occupation. For 111 years they had governed themselves and had assumed themselves to be a sovereign nation; the Marines patroling the countryside were vivid reminders that Haiti had never been independent except by sufferance, and that white men were once more overseeing the destinies of colored and Negro men. Nevertheless, the reasons proclaimed for opposing the Occupation were not those of hurt vanity. Some of those given were entirely

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2. *Health*

Historians who seek to explain the rise and fall of nations in terms of a single cause might do worse than hit upon health and disease as the all-important explanation. Unless spectacular epidemics have appeared in a country's history, the average person is rarely aware of how diet may affect a people, or of how backwardness in achievement is often directly related to disease. It may well be that the development of *medical* history will yet cause a radical revision of certain philosophies of history.

"The diet of the Haitian peasants has not improved since the slavery period," says Dr. Camille Lhérisson.[5] When people are hungry in Haiti, they eat (if they can find food) until their hunger has been appeased; but what they eat, though it may fill their stomachs, is often decidedly deficient in the proper nourishment. Mangoes, yams, and beans are common enough so that few people actually go hungry; eggs, milk, meat, and many other essentials of a balanced diet, on the contrary, are scarce. People do not die of hunger, but rather of the diseases which accompany malnutrition. It is said that many peasants allow the fires in their homes to die out when the mangoes begin to ripen, subsisting almost wholly upon this fruit for weeks. One sees nearly naked children whose distended bellies are testimony to faulty diet. There are frequent cases of geophagy (eating of dirt) both by children and by adults in their unreasoned craving for certain dietetic elements; one result of the practice is the swallowing of eggs and larvae of intestinal parasites.

Scientific progress in medicine during the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth passed Haiti by completely. There were during the whole history of the country until 1915 hardly a score of reputable physicians; even had there been doctors, hospital facilities and equipment were lacking. Dr. Robert P. Parsons describes Haiti in 1915 as "an unspeakable hotbed of diseases, ranking second to none in the world in downright rottenness." He further described the "mass of three million people, sick, suffering beyond all power of words to describe, crippled, and weakened from the ravages of a host of diseases (for the most part preventable and curable), pitifully helpless and hopelessly resigned to their lot."[6]

5. "Diseases of the Peasants of Haiti," *American Journal of Public Health*, XXV, No. 8 (August, 1935), 924.
6. *History of Haitian Medicine* (New York, 1930), pp. 4–5.